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P R E F A C E

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Perhaps writing of final version  
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My own experience with prefaces  
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COMMUNISM SUBVERSION: THE THREAT AND THE CHALLENGE

Preface

A

*This is a short preface.*

## COMMUNIST SUBVERSION: THE THREAT AND THE CHALLENGE

### Preface

The quantity of Western writing on the history of Communism in the Soviet Union and other countries behind the Iron Curtain is very large. On some aspects of Communist practices and theories, the quality of these works is very high. Our statesmen, our scholars, and ordinary citizens have available excellent, authoritative histories of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Histories of the development of the Soviet Union itself since the Communist revolution of 1917; and the careful study<sup>100</sup> of the motives and factors which have led to the growth of Communism and its present stature in the world today.

The Communist leaders themselves, beginning with Karl Marx, have written at tremendous length about their theories, their aims, their ideals, their objectives, and their tactics. The historic writings of Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, as well as other leaders of international communism, constitute<sup>6</sup> a massive file of documentary evidence for study by serious scholars. Khrushchev himself is<sup>5</sup> one of the<sup>H</sup> most prolific writers and speakers. He is backed up by his<sup>7/12</sup> greatest propaganda machine the world has ever known.

~~KOMING. Exact details on quantity of Communist propaganda structure. END-KOMING.~~

It is a mistake to dismiss the writings and speeches of Communist leaders as sheer propaganda. It is also wrong to accept <sup>every thing</sup> ~~what~~ they say as gospel. However, I have always been struck by the fact that we never really paid attention to Hitler and to the program which he set forth in such detail in Mein Kampf. I believe that we in this country and elsewhere in the Free World have paid entirely too little attention to the statements of the Communist leaders as to what they have set out to accomplish and how they intend to accomplish it.

The Communists do not tell everything about themselves, but there is much less mystery about the Soviet Union and the objectives and practices of international communism than one is led to believe. They are obsessed with secrecy and have put a wall around their military secrets and their peoples to protect them from alien eyes and influences. We have had to go to extraordinary lengths to gain basic information about the Communist countries which the Communists pick up <sup>in</sup> about the Free World simply by living, traveling, and moving about outside the Iron Curtain.

In my 40 years of government service to every president of the United States since Woodrow Wilson and particularly in my capacity as Director of Central Intelligence, mountains of <sup>secret</sup> evidence have passed

across my desk to supplement our open information about Communist plans, intentions, and capabilities. The evidence acquired by intelligence served<sup>6</sup> to confirm the impression conveyed by what we know about the Communists from open sources.

The theme of this book is Communist subversion. To subverse<sup>7</sup> means:

1. To overthrow from the foundation; to overthrow; to ruin utterly; to destroy; also, to upset, uproot, or the like.
2. To pervert or corrupt by undermining one's morals, allegiance, or faith; to alienate, as propaganda that subverts foreign-born citizens.
3. To destroy completely the existence, potency, soundness, etc., of; to render futile, void, inoperative and the like; as to subvert another's arguments, principles of religion, the Constitution or the government.

This definition of subversion describes precisely the processes by which the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia; Their abandonment of hopes for a quick world revolution of the proletariat; the consolidation of power by Lenin in the hands of the ~~few~~ chosen revolutionary elite; the creation of the institutional machinery and the stabilization of Soviet foreign policy in its relations with other states and political parties overseas; the phase of military<sup>8</sup> aggression following World War II under Stalin's direction; and today, under Khrushchev, the tactic of alternate threatening and wooing which marks the era of so-called peaceful co<sup>9</sup>existence.

This study is concerned more with the present and with the future than it is with the past. I intend to concentrate on the single theme of subversion since this represents in my view the greatest non-military threat which this country and its allies and other countries in the Free World <sup>have</sup> ~~has~~ ever faced. I do not mean to suggest for a moment that the non-military threat is not backed by tremendous military power which the Communists would not hesitate to use if and when they see fit; but it is within the <sup>Special</sup> province of intelligence that the responsibility for discovering, exposing, and ~~an~~ countering subversion primarily rests.

The people of this country ~~say they~~ are basically opposed to Com-<sup>le</sup>munism, and I believe they are. However, this opposition is based more on instinct than on genuine knowledge. It is a vital task for Americans to understand the ramifications of Communist intrigue, its <sup>its</sup> purposes, and programs in order to be able to help devise a more effective answer.

I have long been concerned by our unwillingness to believe official statements made by political leaders of other countries when we disagree markedly with what they say or when their declarations seem by American standards to be bombastic or improbable.

There is a dangerously complacent attitude among too many people in the Free World today. Too many, motivated by wishful

thinking, grasp at every Soviet whim, their every call for co-existence, their grandiose, unworkable, and insincere proposals for universal disarmament, and their exploitation of the fears of nuclear war. Too many conclude after wishful thinking that the present day Communist leaders have really changed their spots and that they want to settle down to live in peace with the Free World.

All our past relations with the Communists belie any such interpretation. Soviet plans, statements, and actions show that they have no real faith in co-existence.

For too long and by too many, subversive Communism has been viewed as just another international passing danger like those which we have faced before in the ambitions of malevolent dictators or the thrust for power by foreign potentates or rulers. We have assumed that if we remain strong at home, the danger will in time disappear.

The situation is not that simple. The threat is far greater, and the challenge and the response thus much more complex.

The threat is greater, first, because many Communists are not merely conspirators, but fanatically dedicated men. True, there are innumerable ~~time~~<sup>t</sup> servers in the movement and many who are corrupt, self-interested, or ineffective. There are some indications that the ~~world~~<sup>party</sup> of revolutionary fervor is diminishing somewhat in the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, throughout the world, there are still thousands of dangerous and rabid Communists, many of whom believe that they are working for the progress of mankind, -- as they <sup>see it</sup> ~~feel~~. They expect to receive little material reward, and they do not seek the sense of power which their leaders have found and which they enjoy. Many of the Communists' operatives are highly trained and extremely competent. We are faced not with mere conspiracy, but with genuine revolutionary fervor.

As a people, we Americans have never given to the study of Communism the depth and breadth of effort sufficient to understand it adequately and <sup>to</sup> prepare to meet it. This cannot be done merely by setting up new machinery in government or <sup>by</sup> creation of a cold war executive or <sup>by</sup> other administrative measures.

We need in the Free World more <sup>basic knowledge of</sup> education on the ~~whole~~ structure and practices of the international Communist movement.

Our schools and colleges offer ample studies in ancient history, philosophy, and courses on the great movements of the past, but the courses on Communist theory and practices, especially below the level of graduate study, are few and far between. We owe at least this benefit of an education to our younger citizens. We and they are threatened by a revolutionary movement which since 1917 has absorbed almost a billion people, an aggressive movement which boasts blatantly and openly that it will destroy us and all the institutions which we hold essential to our freedom and to our spiritual and material growth.



Those who feel we can buy peace by compromise with ~~Khrushchev~~ are sadly deluded. Each concession we make merely strengthens the position of the Soviet leaders, <sup>as well as</sup> the prestige and ability of the Soviet Union to continue its domination over the ~~Russian~~ <sup>our</sup> people and to extend its influence abroad.

Our defense lies not in compromise, but in understanding and in firmness; - In maintaining a strong and ready ~~military~~ <sup>after defense with</sup> striking power, in marshalling our vast economic assets, <sup>in</sup> concert with other Free World countries (to counter Soviet efforts in economic penetration) and finally, <sup>to</sup> in the unmasking and neutralizing of Communist ~~subversive~~ techniques of ~~subversion & penetration~~ <sup>of expansion</sup>.

It is to this specific purpose, <sup>directed,</sup> that this book is ~~offered~~.

By illustrating Communist subversive techniques with examples from recent history, it is my hope to increase the awareness of the Free World to the conspiratorial menace which international communism directs against our lives, our freedoms, and our most cherished institutions.

The over-all power of the free world is still vastly superior to that of the Communist Bloc. If the Communists succeed in overwhelming us, it will be because of our complacency and because they were willing to devote a far greater share of their power, ~~skill~~ and resources to our destruction than we have been willing to dedicate to our preservation and the advancement of freedom.

FIRST CHAPTER

OR

PREFACE

B

*This is a long preface.*

THE INVISIBLE WAR

"...supreme excellence consists in breaking  
the enemy's resistance without fighting."

Sun Tzu circa 500 B. C.

Over the past 40 years I have served under every President of the United States, beginning with Woodrow Wilson, and generally in some capacity related to Intelligence.

During these same decades, Soviet Russia and Communist China have become world powers dominating nearly a billion people under a common system--<sup>the</sup> Communism--as alien to its subjects as it is to America and the rest of the Free World.

Not all of this immense conquest has been made by the direct use of military force. In fact the greatest territorial gains by <sup>the</sup> International Communism have been achieved by non-violent means; by the indirect, the disguised thrust. The Communists have employed assault by attrition as part of a continuing strategy of ruses, deceptions, and bluff calculated to sap the morale and spirit of the Free World and exploit the West's resulting irresolution. They have developed to a high degree the techniques of subversion.

Subversion is defined as overthrow from the foundation; utter ruin; destruction. It encompasses not only individuals but political structures as well. The last forty years have witnessed many tragic successes by the Communist world in subverting--overthrowing--democratic governments and enslaving freedom-loving peoples.

For all their theoretical concern with social, ideological, and economic factors, the fundamental Communist purpose has been the accumulation of power.

The Free World's efforts to check and contain Communist expansion have not attained a degree of success sufficient to guarantee either our integrity as a nation or the continuance of our way of life. Indeed, the Communists have contained us--within a shrinking perimeter.

They have succeeded with astonishing ease in establishing the concept of their own untouchability--that the captured and enslaved lands behind the Iron Curtain are immune to recovery by the Free World and that the only area of contest is the remaining territory of the Free World. And here it is that Communism, with arrogant impunity, challenges our very survival.

The people of this country are basically opposed to Communism. This opposition is based more on instinct than on knowledge, but this is not enough. Americans should sufficiently well understand the ramifications of Communist intrigue, its purposes and programs, to be able to help devise an effective answer.

Awesome as has been the dynamic onslaught of Communism since the Russian Revolution, it has not been a natural phenomenon. On the contrary, the Soviet strategic attack on the Free World has followed guidelines of diabolical cleverness which exploit every political vulnerability and every human weakness to the ultimate benefit of the Kremlin.

It seems endlessly essential, then, to examine the ultimate goal of our enemy and examine the methods through which Communism confidently expects to "bury us."

How have the Communists achieved all that they have? What techniques will they utilize today and tomorrow?

The practical value of post-mortems is not only to help us understand what is past, but to help us prepare for and meet the future.

Too many embrace the conclusion that the Communist leaders have changed their spots, that they really want to live in peace with us. However, all our past experiences with the Communists belie any such interpretation. Soviet plans, statements, and actions show that they have no faith in, much less a desire for, coexistence. Yet so defensive has become the outlook of the Free World that an alarming number of political leaders and opinion makers apologize for and even deprecate the proved institutions and processes of our open and democratic societies. Worse, the cultural traditions of the West inhibit acceptance of protracted conflict with the Communist world as a necessary and inevitable way of life. The result is to temporize, or when actively challenged, to meet the Communist global threat with measures totally inadequate, then to accept with relief any apparent lessening of pressure when that particular Communist-engineered crisis has passed.

Since World War II, Communist growth has climbed from only three per cent of the world's population to one-third; the increase in area controlled, from 17 to 25 per cent of the world's surface.

When Marx and Engels wrote the "Communist Manifesto" over a century ago, their opening words were "A specter is haunting Europe--the specter of Communism." In the century since then, the Communists have steadfastly striven to bend history to conform to Marxist predictions, and today that specter is haunting not only Europe and Asia, but also Latin America. The Soviets are determined to build this specter to even more menacing

proportions and to use it to haunt and harass the Free World to a point of eventual hysteria or paralysis.

International <sup>Comm.</sup> Communism has not changed its operating procedure since the days of the Comintern and the Cominform. The Communist Party of the USSR, of which Khrushchev is the current leader, is the spearhead of the movement. It has a worldwide mission, formulated by Lenin and Stalin and now promoted by Khrushchev but with more subtle techniques than those of Stalin. This mission continues to be the subversion of the entire Free World.

From time to time Moscow has made agreements such as the Litvinov Pact, in 1933, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. On the strength of this we resumed relations with the Soviet state. Now they are eager to conclude like agreements of "friendship and non-aggression" with all countries of the world. These pacts are not worth the paper they are written on. During World War II, Moscow ostensibly abolished the international Comintern to propitiate the United States, its then wartime ally. However, its functions were carried on continuously in other forms.

What the Free World views as the normal instruments of international relations and diplomatic practice, the Communist World sees as weapons to be used against us. Moreover, the <sup>Comm.</sup> International Communist movement in the Free World, with a total of five million adherents, has proved itself to be the most successful instrument of foreign policy ever devised.

For too long, and by too many, subversive <sup>Comm.</sup> Communism has been viewed as just another international danger like those which we have faced before



from the ambitions of malevolent dictators or the thrusts for power by foreign potentates and rulers. We have assumed that if we remain strong at home the danger will in time disappear.

We are still too prone to believe that the Communist movement is no more than an international conspiracy of evil men, interested solely in their own power.

But the situation is not that simple. The threat is far greater, and the defense, much more complex.

The threat is greater, first, because many Communists are not mere conspirators but fanatically dedicated men. True, there are innumerable timeservers in the movement and many who are corrupt, self-interested, or ineffective. And there are some indications that revolutionary fervor is diminishing somewhat in the USSR. Nevertheless, throughout the world there are still thousands of dangerously rabid Communists, many of whom believe that they are working for the progress of mankind--as they see it. They are ready to work and struggle with little material reward and with comparatively little of the sense of power which their leaders enjoy. Many of them are highly trained and extremely competent. We have to deal not with mere conspiracy, but with genuine revolutionary fervor.

The threat is greater than mere conspiracy, secondly, because the Communists seem to offer what much of the world--the undeveloped areas particularly--is striving for. The undeveloped countries are seized with a passion for rapid economic growth and social advance.

We know from history and from our own pioneer experience that economic growth is not achieved easily. It involves discipline, self-sacrifice,

and a great deal of hard work. The Soviets, however, promise to deliver it on a platter.

Nevertheless, <sup>le</sup> Communism is not the wave of the future. It is reactionary, repressive, atheistic, and intolerant. As such it will not satisfy the strivings of man. While it may produce material strength, it does not create moral values.

Moreover, Communists know the techniques for enforcing a ruthless discipline upon their own and other peoples. The world behind the Iron Curtain is nothing less than a garrison <sup>le</sup> state. Also, as they have demonstrated their ability to achieve rapid economic growth and quickly to develop national power, they can advertise their accomplishments. Peoples in the undeveloped countries tend to see only the achievements of <sup>le</sup> Communism; they overlook its cost in terms of human dignity and political freedom.

If we could offer a prospect of economic development without pain or sacrifice, we should doubtless triumph fairly easily over the Communist adversary in undeveloped countries. But, where we refrain from making false promises, the Communists have no such inhibitions.

As a people we Americans have never given to the study of <sup>le</sup> Communism the depth and breadth of effort sufficient to understand it adequately and to gird to meet it. It can not be done merely by setting up new machinery of government, or the creating of a Cold War Executive, or other administrative measures.

I have long been concerned by our national unwillingness to give credence to official statements made by political leaders of other countries when we disagree markedly with what they say, or when their declarations seem, by American standards, bombastic or improbable.

Hitler's Mein Kampf, written in 1924, had a wide circulation in Germany and left a deep impression on the German people. In the United States it attracted little attention until the outbreak of World War II, yet this book contained the blueprint of Hitler's aggressive intentions, the manifest destiny of the Reich and the anti-Semitic persecutions. In retrospect, no campaign could have been more clearly forecast, and had Americans paid attention to what Hitler himself had outlined as his course, we would have been far better alerted to the dangers which Hitler represented to our own country and to the structure of Western civilization.

The same can be applied to the writings of Lenin and Stalin.

As a nation we were inclined to deprecate their theories of world revolution and the inevitability of conflict between <sup>the</sup> Communism and the Free World. Yet Stalin's writings were circulated in tens of millions of copies throughout the Soviet Union and the Communist world and, following the pressure of world events, eventually received serious attention in this country.

Lenin's theories were never really codified into a handbook as readily available as Das Kapital. Lenin was prolific in his writings and in them can be discerned the many inconsistencies and paradoxes which today give

wide flexibility of choice to the leaders of the Communist world.

The distillate of Lenin's treatises can be found in the statements of Soviet leaders at Party Congresses. At each Congress the verbiage is immense, nevertheless the speeches foreshadow the policies which the Kremlin leaders -- as well as the rest of the Communist world -- will follow in the future. They tell us in no uncertain words what they intend to do, and the Free World would do well not to discount what they say.

Communist ambitions are not inherited from the old <sup>tsar</sup>zarist regimes, they seek much more than access to warm water ports and to extend their national boundaries. They are aiming at nothing less than domination of the world.

The Communists have a blueprint for conquest. It is not a rigid plan detailing precisely when and where every blow will be struck. Rather, it is a flexible strategy permitting the Communists to adjust their tactics to changing conditions. And they think they know what the edifice of the future will look like: It is a Communist house in which, they say, our grandchildren will live. To attain their goal they propose to use any and all means, violent or non-violent.

World conquest is to Communists an article of dogmatic faith with which no compromise can be tolerated. Their weapons are both material and ideological, employable separately or in combination. Their military forces are powerful and balanced, capable of general war or limited action as well as quasi-covert support of guerrilla operations.

But because the Kremlin recognizes that America can inflict unacceptable retaliatory damage upon their striking forces, the Communist strategists hope to attain their Communist goals by measures not calculated to incur American military response. So-called "peaceful co-existence" is simply Communist double-talk for non-military aggression, for non-violent takeover. The Soviets make no secret of the fact that "peaceful co-existence" is a propaganda term for external consumption, not for credence within the Communist world.

And they preach revolution and change for others as zealously as they restrict these ideas from their own people.

There is a dangerously complacent attitude among many people in the Free World. Too many, motivated by wishful thinking, grasp at every Soviet whim, their every call for "co-existence," their grandiose and unworkable proposals for universal disarmament and shrill pleas to ban the nuclear bomb.

We need in the Free World more education on the whole history of the communist movement.

Our American schools and colleges offer ample studies in ancient history, in philosophy, courses on the great movements of the past, the conquests of ancient times from Alexander to Napoleon. But courses on Communist theory and practices are few and far between.

Yet, today we are threatened by a revolution which since 1917 has absorbed almost a billion people; an aggressive movement which boasts blatantly and openly that it will destroy us and all the institutions which we hold essential to our freedom and to our growth, spiritually and materially.

Only a limited few have studied Marx, the titular father of the Communist system. Here was one of the meanest, least admirable characters in his relations with other human beings who ever existed. He was an unoriginal theoretical thinker. His economic writings were outmoded even when they appeared, and the Communists themselves are beginning to admit that Marx is not a completely reliable guide for modern political action.

Soviet objectives, drawn as they are from the basic tenets of Lenin, have never changed -- though Soviet leaders maintain that they can be realized by different means. For example, Nikita Khrushchev

said on 14 February 1956:

"The working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing the opportunist elements who are incapable of giving up the policy of compromise with capitalists and landlords, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to the popular interest, to capture a stable majority in the parliaments, and transform the latter from an instrument of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the peoples' will. In such event," he added, "this institution, traditional in many highly developed capitalist countries, may become an organ of genuine democracy, democracy for the working people."

Translated into less abstruse language, this declaration meant that the Communists proposed to infiltrate free legislative systems to take over parliamentary governments and to use democratic freedoms to destroy all vestiges of democracy.

We can also be sure that the Soviet leaders continue to accept the view announced during Lenin's own time, in the Statutes of the Third Communist International in 1920 -- that "The Communist Party enters such institutions / as Parliaments / not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within."

Or as Lenein put it: "No parliament can in any circumstances be for Communists an arena of struggle for reforms for the betterment of the situation of the working class.... The only question can be that of utilizing bourgeois state institutions for their own destruction."

Despite the advertised Communist practice of manipulating democratic parliamentary systems for their own ends, there is yet no instance of the Communists' capturing a country by free popular elections. Unfortunately, Communists have achieved political control without having majority status, and their subversion of free countries has generally featured most if not all of the following elements:

1. The use of external force, or the overhanging threat of force;
2. The obtaining by the Communists through popular vote of at least an effective minority position;
3. The willingness of other parties, most often the parties of the left, but in some cases even parties of the extreme right, to join in political alliances with, and to admit Communists to key positions in the government;
4. Communist manipulation of key Ministries to drive non-Communist elements from positions of influence.



There are significant lessons to be learned from Communist subversive precedent. When Communists obtain an effective minority position in any parliamentary body, it is a sign of serious if not critical danger. If, in addition to that, they occupy important places in the Government and in particular control the Ministries of Defense and Interior, then that danger is greatly augmented and the country in question is ripe for takeover.

Once a Communist Party is established as a political force to be reckoned with, the next crucial factor is the ability of the Party to enter into alliances with other parties in order to enhance Communist electoral appeal and above all to participate in governments formed by the alliance. The prospects and partners for such alliances--United Fronts or "popular fronts"--vary greatly among countries.

When it is talking to Western audiences the Kremlin boasts that the "Peoples' Democracies" are the result of spontaneous, popular political movements. It has tried, under the cover of the Soviet military threat, to exercise political power in the Satellites so as to stage synthetic "popular elections" and establish synthetic "democratic governments." But in essence it is the shield of Soviet military force which has made possible the political tyranny and economic oppression which are inherent in the present order throughout almost all of Eastern Europe.

Soviet leaders are keenly aware of the value of power as a backdrop to diplomacy. They have frequently gone to extreme lengths to point out that unless the Soviet Union is militarily strong, it will suffer at the world's council tables, and Soviet intransigence during the long months of the nuclear testing and disarmament conferences stands witness to this. Thus Soviet military force serves as the big stick behind Soviet diplomacy.

This Soviet power is also a useful weapon of blackmail. It can always be used to intimidate nations who are tempted to align themselves with us, or vigorously to oppose Soviet policies in the cold war. Recall the blustering threats made to Norway and Pakistan subsequent to the U2 incident, to Britain when we based Polaris-equipped submarines in Scotland. It is hard to blame some of the nations who are more vulnerable to Soviet attack than the United States for being highly reluctant to incur Soviet wrath, or for trying to steer a "neutralist" course in the big-power struggle.

Another use of Soviet military potential is that, by making the threat of war appear imminent, the Soviets can enhance the appeal of their "peace" overtures. In other words, if the Soviets can convince the world that war is a real possibility, they can thereby make peace (even on Soviet terms) sound attractive to people who would be caught up in future combat. This threat has been particularly effective in Japan where neutralism has flourished.

A few years ago I would have thought that Communist Parties in Europe would experience great difficulty in ever again obtaining collaborators among non-Communist parties. Then the experience of 1939-41 was still vivid when the Communists tried to sabotage the war effort against Hitler until Moscow itself became involved. Today, however, the danger of parliamentary compromises with Communists in Europe and Latin America is not to be ignored. They have learned how to get elected, and once elected, how to manipulate their parliamentary representation. Further, they know quite well what types of parliamentary systems are most vulnerable to subversive action.

Communists endeavor in every possible way to influence the constitutional structure of free countries toward eliminating a strong Executive. They themselves have collective or one-man dictatorships reserving all power in the hands of a few elite, with their Party Congresses attended by hand-picked and powerless stooges. Presumably they judge this centralization of power to be the most secure form of government, the least subject to outside attack. The governments they find most vulnerable to their tactics are those in which effective power is given to the people's representatives with little delegation to the Executive.

Insofar as electoral procedures are concerned they abhor anything in the nature of a two-party system and majority rule which, by and large, has been a bulwark of free institutions. Their effort is to encourage a multiplicity of parties confusing to the electorate; this opens the door to intrigue and helps to strengthen the minority and diffuse support for the majority.

In general, Communists favor voting systems in which even small minorities have a chance of placing deputies in parliament, and they have often found that the proportional system of voting serves them as a secret weapon.

I do not wish to give the impression that the Soviets are limiting their range of subversive techniques to the single tactic of infiltrating Western parliamentary systems, and then taking over and destroying these systems. On the contrary, the weapons of subversion and of contrived civil war are always used wherever the Soviets find them advantageous.

The insidious Communist attack on parliamentary democracies is not the stuff of which headlines are made. Yet the strategy and tactics unfold day after day, almost invisibly to all but professional observers.

More dramatic, of course, is Communist guerrilla and paramilitary warfare. That this tactic is simply part of Communism's total offensive is often overlooked in the rush to smother a brush fire here and another there; but there is nothing sporadic about Communist intentions, and to the Kremlin each situation determines the particular means to be utilized.

The Free World is familiar with past Communist support of the Philippine Huks, the Malayan guerrillas, the Viet Minh, and more recently the Pathet Lao forces. What these episodes have in common is their unfolding in areas and countries not fully accustomed to parliamentary processes, where the application of violence and terrorism seemed to the Communists a swifter and more certain means of conquest than electoral and political manipulation.

In terms of practical planning and organization, the inspiration for actions of an overt or of a conspiratorial nature originate among the 15 Soviet officials who comprise the elite Presidium of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (formerly the Politburo). Once a line of action has been agreed upon in principle by Presidium members, its implementation begins, developing strategy and adopting tactics through channels of overt and covert action.

The Soviet Communist Party, the Government, and the popular organizations--the three of which are synonymous for our purposes--place primary responsibility for overt implementation on those Party, Government, and popular organs clearly identifiable with open actions of the USSR: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the official information services, the Soviet Committee for the Solidarity of African and Asian Countries, the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and others.

The direction of subversive, including clandestine, efforts abroad is vested in two foreign departments of the Party Central Committee: The Committee for State Security (KGB) of the Council of Ministers, and the Chief Intelligence Directorate (GRU) of the Defense Ministry.

Since 1957 two foreign departments have existed within the Party Central Committee. The older of these two bodies is called the International Section or Foreign Section, and is responsible for maintaining relationships with Communist parties in the Free World. The other foreign section, headed by Yuri A. Andropov, Soviet Ambassador in Hungary at the time of the 1956 uprising, was created in 1957 and maintains relationships with the Communist parties of the Sino-Soviet Bloc.

The International Section is responsible both for staff support to the Central Committee and Presidium and for transmitting the instructions and views which establish CPSU policy with the leadership of Free World Communist parties.

The International Section is responsible for dealing with party functionaries who visit Moscow, debriefing and briefing them, and for arranging contacts between them and top Soviet policy makers. International Section functionaries travel abroad and transmit CPSU guidance during congresses of local Communist parties. In recent years many parties have been instructed to develop illegal party mechanisms usable for armed struggle and for clandestine subversion.

The CPSU International Section also probably controls the editorial policy of the international journal Problems of Peace and Socialism. This authoritative publication, distributed throughout the world, has in recent times carried a significant amount of material on the role and development of illegal party activities in connection with "national liberation" struggles. International Section personnel frequently publish articles in such journals as International Affairs to supplement advice and guidance passed openly or covertly to Free World Party leaders. Covert delivery of communications from the International Section to Free World Communist Parties is normally handled by Soviet diplomatic representatives or, where security counter-measures are rigorous, through KGB resident intelligence officers.

The KGB is charged primarily with the maintenance of the security of the Soviet state. This is accomplished by means of an extensive network of employees and informants throughout the USSR and among Soviet citizens abroad. In addition to its basic security function, the KGB Foreign Directorate engages in intelligence collection and counterintelligence activities abroad. Within the broad framework of foreign clandestine activity, there has traditionally resided with State Security a capability to accomplish numerous tasks such as kidnapping, assassination and paramilitary action. These tasks currently are assigned to the notorious Ninth Section of the KGB.

The furtherance of Soviet policy by means of clandestine political action in time of "peace" is pursued vigorously by KGB officers who cultivate, develop, and exploit foreign government officials at all levels. When such KGB efforts prove successful, the net yield to the Soviet side is a decided potential to influence foreign government policies and actions. The KGB has also been active in influencing foreign public opinion by planting slanted information in press media.

To back up this massive apparatus, the USSR has the largest number of agents trained for espionage and secret political action that any country has ever assembled. In Moscow, Prague and Peiping and other Communist centers, they are training agents recruited from scores of other countries to go out as missionaries



of Communism into the troubled areas of the world. Much of the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and particularly Black Africa, are high on their target list. Nor do they neglect this Hemisphere.

Both the civil and military Soviet intelligence services are responsible for providing information concerning those foreign countries for which infiltration, subversion and eventual take-over are planned.

A plan for subversive action in any area is drawn up in the appropriate Central Committee section, and is implemented by type. Abroad the Soviet ambassador or his representative becomes the Central Committee's direct representative for action implementation.

It is likely that the military aspects of the Soviet program in Laos were centered in a special task force set up within the Soviet Ministry of Defense.

Such task force functions would include procurement and shipment of arms and supplies, air-lifts, use of third countries as intermediate supply points, and the supervision of the use and effectiveness of military aid to the Communist and pro-Communist groups in Laos. In addition to this military support the Ministry of Defense's intelligence organization, the GRU, in all probability has played a continuing role in Laos.

The task of destruction is always easier than the labor of construction. The Communist world, in dealing with the former colonial areas and the newly emerging nations of the world, employs appealing slogans to export, and vulnerable economic conditions to exploit. The fragile parliamentary systems of new and emerging countries are fertile ground for these agitators.

We should remember that the Soviet Union is a dictatorship, run by the high command of the Communist Party and that the Party itself numbers only about five per cent of the adult population of the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, these eight million Party members have no real freedom even in choosing their local Party leaders much less the leaders in the Presidium. It is these latter who determine the policies on which the fate of the Soviet people depend, including the secretly subsidized export of Communism on a worldwide basis.

There is no evidence that the leaders of the Communist world have the slightest idea of abandoning their grandiose goals, or of changing the means to achieve them.

Those who feel we can buy peace by compromise with Khrushchev are sadly deluded. Each concession we give the Soviets merely strengthens their position and prestige and the ability of the Soviet regime to continue its domination of the Russian people.

Our defense lies not in compromise but in understanding and firmness, in a strong and ready deterrent military power, in the marshalling of our economic assets with those of other free countries to meet Communist methods of economic penetration, and finally in the unmasking and neutralizing of their subversive techniques.

It is to this latter purpose that this book has been written.

By illustrating Communist subversive techniques with examples from recent history, it is my hope to increase the awareness of our Free World to the conspiratorial menace which International Communism directs against our lives, our freedoms, and our most cherished institutions.

The overall power of the Free World is still vastly superior to that under the control of Communism, but we of the Free World must share a sense of joint purpose and an unalterable will to win. We must grasp initiatives promptly in place of yielding them needlessly to the Communists, then reacting belatedly and inadequately. And we must forego the growing tendency to brood neurotically and recoil in dread each time the Communists unveil a new psycho-nuclear threat.

To achieve what we must, there is no simple, comfortable or short-term solution.

Characteristic of a dying society is its inability to respond to and counter hostile threats to its institutions and its integrity. Few

## COMMUNIST SUBVERSION: THE THREAT AND THE CHALLENGE

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